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OFFICE OF EASTERN

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

Balkan Affairs

April 21, 1950

Harris
ment file

To: UNP - Mr. Taylor

From: EE - Mr. Campbell *all*

Subject: Proposed Admission to the UN of Albania, Hungary, Bulgaria and Rumania.

With reference to UNP's memorandum on the above-captioned subject and the several memoranda of April 14, 1950, written by the officers concerned in EE, Balkan Affairs, in reply thereto, we have since read with great interest Chapter 16, entitled "Developing World Organization", and Chapter 20, entitled "New Techniques" in Mr. Dulles' recent book, "War or Peace", in which he discusses the desirability of universal membership in the United Nations.

On Page 190 of Chapter 16 Mr. Dulles writes:

"I have now come to believe that the United Nations will best serve the cause of peace if its assembly is representative of what the world actually is, and not merely representative of the parts which we like. Therefore, we ought to be willing that all the nations should be members without attempting to appraise closely those which are 'good' and those which are 'bad'."

In fact, the section of this chapter entitled "Universality", beginning on page 180 and ending on page 191, sets forth in essence the same thesis as that presented in UNP's paper under reference. It is noted with interest, however, that in the concluding paragraphs of Chapter 16 Mr. Dulles also agrees with the position of EE as expressed in the third paragraph on

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page 2 of Mr. Dulick's memorandum of April 14, namely, that universality cannot be attained without first amending the Charter to eliminate the qualifications for membership contained in Article 4. On page 209 Mr. Dulles writes:

"Admission of new members can and does occur under the Charter, although, if universality is really the goal, it would be better to amend the Charter to provide for it. Article 4, Section 1, makes a vote for the admission of a new member in effect a vote of confidence in the moral quality of the nation in question. It provides that new members must be 'peace-loving states', and that it must be the judgment of the Organization that they are 'able and willing to carry out' the obligations of the Charter. If the United Nations is to be a world organization, memberships ought frankly to depend upon whether there is a stable and effective national government. As between nations, diplomatic recognition involves no element of moral approval. It should be the same with admission to the United Nations."

On page 210 Mr. Dulles continues by quoting Article 109 of the Charter which contains the provisions for calling a General Conference of the members of the United Nations for the purpose of reviewing the Charter. He then writes as follows:

"So a General Conference can be called and held free of Soviet veto, although alterations in the Charter agreed to by the Conference would require Soviet ratification.

"The Conference should be called soon, but should not be held until carefully prepared for by official studies and private discussion such as preceded San Francisco. As in the case of that Conference, there should also be full opportunity for public opinion to inform itself regarding the problems involved, and to express its views."

If this Government publicly espoused the position as advanced in UNP's paper, namely, to approve the applications
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Eastern European
of the ~~the~~ satellite nations for membership in the UN without first obtaining an amendment of the Charter so as to eliminate the qualifications for membership contained in Article 4 thereof, it would be following a course of action which would go a long way toward defeating the recommendations contained in Chapter 20 of Mr. Dulles' book, entitled "New Techniques".

In discussing the tactics of the Communist authorities in the countries of Eastern Europe, Mr. Dulles writes on page 247 as follows:

"There is, however, a duty to prevent whole peoples from being broken in mind and spirit, which is what Soviet Communism seeks. It is trying to break them, just as it breaks the individual defendants who figure in its purge and spy trials.

"We can picture these haggard persons; for example Cardinal Mindszenty and Robert A. Vogeler in Hungary; the Protestant pastors and Michael T. Shipkov in Bulgaria. We have read the words by which they abjectly confessed to what they could not have done. We see what can happen to minds and spirits when individuals are cut off from all normal contacts, terrorized and exposed to the insistent repetition of falsehood. As Shipkov said, the purpose and the result is to 'break you down completely and deprive you of any will power or private thought or self-esteem'.

"That is what Soviet Communism is trying to do to the captive peoples, en masse. It is isolating them from normal contact with what is going on in the world; it terrorizes them and it constantly pounds falsehoods into their consciousness.

"The free peoples must try to frustrate this gruesome process. We must, if we can, bring to the captive peoples some ray of hope, some knowledge of the truth. We must, if we can, keep alive in them love of God and of country, faith in human fellowship and belief in the dignity and worth of human personality.

"We live

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"We live in dread of weapons of mass destruction. We should not be concerned only about the mass destruction of bodies. We should equally be concerned about the mass destructions of minds and spirits."

As I stated in my memorandum of April 14, we have been trying to maintain the morale of the populations of Eastern Europe in the face of the oppressive measures of their governments. We have condemned these governments before the world for their non-representative character and their disregard for treaty obligations. Their admission to the United Nations would be regarded as a measure of appeasement by the peoples of those countries and by democratic opinion throughout the world, whether we meant it that way or not. Their admission with our support would knock the bottom out of our human rights case.

There is no way in which we could explain our actions to the oppressed peoples of these countries to make them believe that this action was in their interests. All available evidence from our Legations within these countries and from our contacts with responsible political refugees from these countries who are now in the US supports the opinion that acceptance of the Eastern European Governments in the United Nations, notwithstanding the provisions of Article 4 of the Charter and our previous position taken on this issue, would be interpreted as another indication that the peoples of these countries were being abandoned completely to the will and dictates of the Kremlin-controlled Communist Governments. Instead of

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encouraging these peoples to have some ray of hope, as Mr. Dulles recommends, we would, in effect, be assisting the Communists in their endeavor to bring about, as Mr. Dulles puts it, "the mass destruction of minds and spirits".

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